MUSGROVE'S MILL STATE HISTORIC SITE

HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY

PART 2: EDWARD MUSGROVE AND THE SOUTH CAROLINA BACKCOUNTRY

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Introduction

Edward Musgrove (c. 1720 -1790)—the proprietor of the mill that lent its name to the Revolutionary War battle fought on 19 August 1780—lived during one of the most eventful, albeit tumultuous, periods in South Carolina's history. Leaving behind his native Virginia, he settled in the Carolina backcountry in the mid 1750s, establishing himself along the Tyger River before taking up residence on the Enoree (reputedly the "river of muscadines" in Cherokee). Settlement of the colony's interior had begun in earnest only two decades prior to Musgrove's arrival. But by the 1750s, the backcountry was growing and expanding at an unprecedented rate, thanks in part to the considerable numbers of immigrants pouring down from the northern colonies. The colony's expansion, however, did not occur without conflict. It first provoked a bloody war with the Cherokees (1760-1761) and then gave rise to the volatile Regulator Movement (1768-1769), which ultimately divided the backcountry and nearly resulted in civil war. Despite getting caught up in these struggles, Edward Musgrove emerged as a relatively prosperous and influential settler. In addition to serving as a deputy surveyor for the province of South Carolina, a position he acquired shortly after settling in the colony, he also earned a captain's commission in the provincial militia and secured appointment as a justice of the peace for Berkeley County.

Providing more than just a biographical sketch of Edward Musgrove, the following report endeavors to place the proprietor into the greater context of the Carolina backcountry's history before the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. This contextual approach enables us to use his life as a convenient lens through

which to examine some of the major events that marked the political, economic, and cultural evolution of the South Carolina piedmont. Both the Cherokee War and the Regulator Movement, for instance, profoundly affected the lives of most backcountry inhabitants, be them Native Americans or colonists of European descent. The outcome and far-reaching implications of these two events, which currently lack interpretation within South Carolina State Parks, fundamentally reshaped South Carolina's political and cultural landscape. Although the Cherokee War and the Regulator Movement cannot be specifically linked to the land that constitutes Musgrove's Mill State Historic Site, the park, by virtue of its location and association with Edward Musgrove, would make an excellent venue for interpreting the broader history of the South Carolina backcountry.

I. Settling the Backcountry

The burgeoning colony of South Carolina suffered a stunning check in 1715 when the Yamassee Indians, embittered by abusive trading practices and settler encroachment, launched a formidable attack against the lowcountry. Once the colonists recovered from the initial shock, they mobilized and managed to decisively defeat the Yamassees, driving them permanently below the Savannah River.[1] Although a few Native Americans remained in the pine-belt region between the lowcountry and the sandhills, the expulsion of the Yamassees essentially paved the way for future settlement of the *backcountry*.[2]

Generally, eighteenth-century South Carolinians defined the backcountry as "the entire area beyond the nineteen coastal parishes."[3] In more concrete terms, the region "began about fifty miles inland, traversed the upper pine belt, and continued through the Sand Hills...across the Fall line and into the Piedmont" (see Figs. 1 & 2).[4]

In the early 1730s, both the provincial government and the crown, troubled by threats to the colony's internal stability and imperial security, began to encourage the settlement of the Carolina interior. The proliferation of the slave population in the lowcountry particularly unnerved white South Carolinians. In fact, by 1730, slaves of African origin outnumbered whites in the tidewater by a ratio of nearly

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[1] Walter Edgar, *South Carolina: A History* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1998), 100.

[2] Robert L. Meriwether, *The Expansion of South Carolina, 1729-1765* (Kingsport, TN: Southern Publishers, Inc., 1940), 10, 12.

[3] Rachel N. Klein, *The Unification of a Slave State: The Rise of the Planter Class in the South Carolina Backcountry, 1760-1808* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 7. As Klein has observed, South Carolinians did not begin using the terms *middle-* and *upcountry*, to distinguish between intra-backcountry regions, until the 1790s; see ibid.

[4] Richard M. Brown, *The South Carolina Regulators* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1963), 2.

two-to-one.[5] If the specter of slave insurrection engendered the highest level of concern in the minds of the colonists, then the abiding fear of attack—by either foreign enemies (i.e., the Spanish in Florida and the French in Alabama) or hostile Native Americans—ranked a close second. Determined to forestall these potential calamities, Governor Robert Johnson, in 1730, laid before the London Board of Trade his proposal for the celebrated "township scheme". The Board responded favorably and authorized Johnson to establish eleven townships at points along the province's major rivers.[6] These townships, Johnson reasoned, would not only attract white immigrants to counterbalance the ever-increasing slave population, but would also create a defensive buffer to insulate Charleston from enemy incursions.[7] Thus, the township plan seemed to offer great promise toward remedying the colony's security predicament. The plan, however, was still in its incipient stages in 1739, when the slave uprising known as the Stono Rebellion convulsed the lowcountry. By the time the militia quelled the rebellion, more than twenty whites and scores of blacks had lost their lives.[8] The Stono Rebellion, which was the largest event of its kind to ever wrack British North America, certainly confirmed the most profound fears of the lowcountry and made settlement of the backcountry that much more urgent.

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[5] Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: Knopf, 1974), 152.

[6] Meriwether, *Expansion of South Carolina*, 17-20.

[7] Robert M. Weir, *Colonial South Carolina: A History* (New York: KTO Press, 1983; reprint, Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1997), 111-112; Edgar, *South Carolina,* 52-53.

[8] For more on the Stono Rebellion; see Wood, *Black Majority*, 312-317.

South Carolina's provincial government succeeded in establishing nine out of the eleven scheduled townships.[9] Five of these townships—namely Amelia and Saxe Gotha on the Congaree River, Orangeburg on the North Edisto, New Windsor on the Savannah, and Fredericksburg on the Wateree—were located in the backcountry; whereas the others were laid out in the coastal plain (see Fig. 3).[10] Settlement of the five interior townships began in the 1730s and continued throughout the colonial period.[11] Following the Cherokee War (1760-1761), His Majesty's Council in Charleston created three new frontier townships—Boonesborough, Hillsborough, and Londonborough—which brought the inland total up to eight (see Fig. 3).[12]

As the backcountry developed, it became increasingly culturally and ethnically diverse. Early on, German and Swiss immigrants established themselves in the townships of Amelia, Orangeburg, New Windsor, and Saxe Gotha, as well as in other enclaves on the Carolina frontier. Freshly transplanted Europeans, however, constituted only a small faction of the total backcountry population. The overwhelming majority of new settlers, who began streaming into the piedmont in the 1740s and 1750s, migrated down from the northern colonies. Many of these immigrants were Virginians of English stock; but in terms of numbers, the Scots-Irish[13] (from Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina) grew to preponderate

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[9] Klein, *Unification of a Slave State*, 10.

[10] The other four townships were Queensboro on the Pee Dee River, Kingston between the Little Pee Dee and Waccamaw Rivers, Williamsburg on both sides of the Black River, and Purrysburg along the eastern bank of the Savannah (see Fig. 3).

[11] Meriwether, *Expansion of South Carolina*, 43-45, 53-54, 66-67, 99; Edgar, *South Carolina*, 54-55.

[12] Meriwether, *Expansion of South Carolina*, 250-256.

[13] The Scots-Irish, also known as Ulster Scots, were the descendants of Scots Presbyterians, who, seeking religious freedom, settled in the Ulster region of Northern Ireland in

over every other ethnic group in the South Carolina backcountry. Many northern immigrants entered the Carolina interior via the Great Wagon Road (which started in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania and ran down through the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia into the piedmont of the Carolinas, before terminating in Augusta, Georgia), while others followed different routes.[14] Regardless of the route they chose, these settlers, lured by the prospect of cheap arable land, hoped to create better lives for themselves and their families.

The northern immigrants generally bypassed the townships and instead fanned out along the intricate network of streams and creeks that flowed into the colony's major rivers. In the southwestern reaches of the upper backcountry, Long Cane Creek, a tributary of the Savannah River, and the region around the town of Ninety-Six[15] appealed to many settlers. Others opted to try their luck further north in the Saluda River basin. North of the Saluda, the fertile soils of the Broad River Valley, the Dutch Fork between the Saluda and Broad, and the parallel Tyger and Enoree Rivers also invited settlement (see Fig. 1). When the newcomers first arrived, these rivers and tributaries ran clear through the heavily wooded Carolina piedmont. Yet as the settlers cleared vast tracts of the virgin oak-hickory forest for agriculture, the resultant surface drainage gradually began to deposit quantities of the clay subsoil into the rivers. In addition to accounting

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the seventeenth century. From Ulster, many of these Scots-Irish emigrated to the American colonies, establishing themselves primarily Pennsylvania before significant numbers of them relocated to the southern provinces.

[14] Brown, *South Carolina Regulators*, 2-3; Edgar, *South Carolina*, 56.

[15] The town of Ninety-Six was so named because it was established, along the Indian trading path, roughly ninety-six miles southeast of the Cherokee village of Keowee.

for the muddied appearance of the rivers and creeks today, this drainage process has also led to considerable erosion in the piedmont.[16]

European settlement not only altered the piedmont's ecology, but also had a decided impact on indigenous peoples. As the great influx of immigrants inexorably pushed the margins of the frontier further north and west, the settlers began encroaching upon Cherokee country, which at that time embraced much of foothills of present-day upstate South Carolina.[17] If the southern colonies were to continue expanding, they would have to do so at the expense of the Cherokees. Fully cognizant of this prospect, the Cherokees naturally grew more and more resentful of colonial imperialism. Eventually, they would annul their tenuous alliance with British North America and fight for their ancestral lands. The war between the Cherokees and the colonists would devastate the Carolina backcountry and a planter named Edward Musgrove would emerge as a principal player in the defense of his region (see Section 2).

Born in northern Virginia around 1720, Edward Musgrove was one of those thousands of emigrants who came down from the more northerly colonies to settle in the Carolina backcountry.[18] Little is known about the Virginian's formative years, but John H. Logan, a nineteenth-century historian who collected upcountry oral histories, claimed that Musgrove "had been bred to the law" and "was a man of education and fine abilities." With regard to his physical appearance, Logan described him as "[a]

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[16] Timothy Silver, *A New Face on the Countryside: Indians, Colonists, and Slaves in the Southern Atlantic Forests, 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 21; Meriwether, *Expansion of South Carolina*, 113-114.

[17] Brown, *South Carolina Regulators*, 2; Edgar, *South Carolina*, 56-57, 205.

[18] See Richard G. Musgrove, *The American Family Musgrove* (Houston: ArGee, 1993).

little above medium height, slender, venerable gray even at thirty.[19] Although the exact year in which Musgrove moved southward is unknown, evidence suggests that he relocated to South Carolina in the mid 1750s, perhaps 1755, in the company of his younger brother, John Musgrove, Jr.[20] In October 1755, John Musgrove appeared before his Majesty's Council in Charleston to submit a petition for a land grant. The Council's journal for that month notes that the petitioner had never before received a land grant in the colony, brought with him one indentured servant and one slave, and requested 150 acres on the Saluda River.[21] The first record we have for Edward, however, is his February-1756 appointment as a deputy surveyor for the province of South Carolina, a position he would hold until the late 1760s.[22] The newly-appointed surveyor executed his first plat in March 1756. That same month, coincidentally, he drew up another for the 150 acres that his brother had received on the Saluda River.[23]

Instead of settling near his brother on the Saluda, Edward Musgrove decided to establish his family further north on the Tyger River.[24] But by the time the Cherokee War broke out, the deputy surveyor had moved south to a point along

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[19] John H. Logan, *A History of the Upper Country of South Carolina*, vol. 2 (Reprint, Easley, SC: Southern Historical Press, 1980), 73, 79.

[20] Musgrove also brought his family with him. In Virginia, he had married one Rebecca Shaw, who bore him a son named Edward Beaks Musgrove (see Musgrove, *The American Family Musgrove*, 130). He would marry twice more in South Carolina, first to a certain Miss Fancher and then to Ann Adair, who would become his widow in 1790; see William S. Glenn, "The Battle of Musgrove's Mill," in *The Spartanburg Herald*, 18 April 1926; "The Will of Edward Musgrove," 25 August 1790, Laurens County Office of the Probate Judge, Estate Records Book A-1, 28-30 (on mfm at South Carolina Department of Archives and History, hereafter cited as SCDAH).

[21] Journal of His Majesty's Council in South Carolina, 7 October 1755 (on mfm at SCDAH). Hereafter cited as Council Journal.

[22] Musgrove qualified for the position on 19 February 1756. See Miscellaneous Records, vol. KK, 261 (on mfm at SCDAH).

[23] South Carolina Colonial Plats, vol. 6, 42 and vol. 7, 354 (on mfm at SCDAH).

[24] South Carolina Colonial Plats, vol. 6, 312; Colonial Land Grants, Royal Grants, vol. 8, 361 (on mfm at SCDAH). See Appendix for a list of Musgrove's other extant land records.

the Enoree River in what is now Newberry County.[25] Heading westward, yet remaining on the Enoree, Musgrove changed his residence once again sometime before the Revolution. It was on this new property, situated on the south side of the river in present-day Laurens County, that he erected his famous mill. Unfortunately, it has proven impossible to ascertain when Musgrove actually acquired this tract, as no grant, deed, or plat for it shows up in extant land records.[26] A confirmatory plat, however, indicates that he had acquired the Laurens-County tract, which is now part of Musgrove's Mill State Historic Site, as early as 1774.[27]

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[25] See page 11 in Section 2 of this report.

[26] See Part #1, Section 3 and Part #2, Epilogue (of this study) for more on this tract.

[27] This plat represents a parcel of land "laid out 2nd July 1774 to George Duncan in the District of 96 on the Waters of the Enoree River below Musgrove's Mill." See Charleston County, Register of Mesne Conveyances, Plat Collection of John McCrady, Plat #6243 (on mfm at SCDAH).

II. The Cherokee War (1760-1761)

The French and Indian War (1754-1763), which began as a struggle between the colonial powers of Britain and France in North America, quickly escalated into a conflict of global proportions. By 1756, a parallel conflict known as the Seven Years' War had broken out on the European continent. Before the hostilities ended in 1763, this wide-ranging contest for empire would spread into all of the major European colonial centers, including the West Indies, Africa, and India. Most of the fighting in North America was confined to the northern colonies and Canada. Yet an offshoot of the greater French and Indian War erupted on the South Carolina frontier in 1760. This localized conflict, known as the Cherokee War, would be comparatively brief, but its repercussions would be felt in South Carolina well after its conclusion.

The ever-delicate alliance between the Cherokees[1] and the British began to break down in the late 1750s. Incensed by the unscrupulous practices of white traders and exasperated by the failure of settlers to respect their boundaries, the Cherokees grew increasingly distrustful of their British allies. The two forts—Prince George and Loudoun (see Fig. 4)—that the British had constructed in Cherokee territory in the early 1750s also became focal points of Indian resentment. Although their leaders had requested the British to erect the forts to protect them from their Creek enemies, many Cherokees began to view the

[1] On the eve of the Cherokee War, the Cherokee nation, which consisted of approximately forty towns, essentially straddled the southern Appalachian Mountains. It bordered the Carolina frontier on its eastern boundary and extended over the Blue Ridge into present-day Tennessee (see Fig. 4). In 1759, the nation boasted roughly 3,000 warriors and their families, whereas the white population in the backcountry amounted to about 20,000. See David H. Corkran, *The Cherokee Frontier: Conflict and Survival, 1740-1762* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 3.

strongholds as emblems of occupation rather than protection. Meanwhile, the French, hoping to turn Cherokee disaffection to their own advantage, encouraged the Indian nation to sever its friendly relations with Britain.[2]

Thus, tensions were already palpable in 1759 when a series of raids and reprisals, between disgruntled Cherokees and British settlers, commenced across the frontier from Virginia to the Carolinas.[3] At first, South Carolina's new governor, William Henry Lyttleton, attempted to mollify the Indians by sending them gifts and when that failed, he personally led a sizable expedition into Cherokee country as a show of force. Edward Musgrove accompanied the expedition as captain of a company in Colonel John Chevillette's regiment of Berkeley County militia.[4] At Fort Prince George, near the lower Cherokee town of Keowee (in present-day Pickens County), the Governor convinced the Cherokees to renew their pledge of friendship and drew up a treaty.[5] But, like trying to put out a grease fire with a cup of water, this treaty failed to extinguish the adversarial furor that engulfed the Cherokee nation. Despite the efforts of the more peacefully-minded chiefs, the hotheads prevailed. The nation had suffered too many indignities at the hands of the British, these warriors argued; so they took to the warpath.[6]

In early-January 1760, a band of seemingly-unarmed Cherokees tried to gain admittance into Fort Prince George under the pretense of delivering up two

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[2] Brown, *South Carolina Regulators*, 4; Edgar, *South Carolina*, 204.

[3] For an account of these problems, see Corkran, *The Cherokee Frontier*, 143-168.

[4] Musgrove received £129.7.6 for his service. See Commons House Committee to Audit the Public Accounts, Muster Rolls, Cherokee Expedition, October 1759-January 1760 (on mfm at SCDAH).

[5] Meriwether, *Expansion of South Carolina*, 216-221.

[6] Corkran, *The Cherokee Frontier*, 191; Edgar, *South Carolina*, 206.

outlaws. With hatchets concealed beneath their clothing, these warriors tried to force their way into the fort, but the garrison managed to secure the gates before the majority of the belligerents made it in. Frustrated in their attempt to take Fort Prince George, this warparty, whose numbers soon swelled to five or six hundred, descended on the South Carolina frontier, killing white traders along the way. Luckily for the inhabitants of Ninety-Six, a friendly Cherokee girl arrived on the thirtieth to warn them of the imminent danger.[7]

Word of the Cherokee uprising traveled quickly. Concerned for their safety, approximately two hundred settlers, from the Long Canes area, struck out for Augusta on 1 February. Their attempted evacuation, however, met with disaster when a hundred or so mounted Cherokees waylaid the refugees' wagon train, which had gotten mired in bog near Long Cane Creek. Having packed away their guns in the wagons, the men from Long Canes could offer little resistance. In the ensuing massacre, the Indians killed about twenty settlers (mostly women and children), carried off an equal number, and scattered the rest. One survivor, Patrick Calhoun—future father of John C. Calhoun—reported that he found only twenty "inhumanely butchered" bodies upon returning to the scene to look for survivors. Many missing victims of the Long Canes affair were later found wandering the woods in shock; "some...terribly cut with tomahawks, and left for dead, and others scalped, yet alive."[8]

For months following the Long Canes debacle, Cherokee warparties continued to infiltrate the backcountry with seeming impunity, scalping hapless

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[7] *South Carolina Gazette*, 2 to 9 February 1760; Council Journal, 2 February 1760.
[8] *South Carolina Gazette*, 2 to 9, 9 to 16, and 16 to 23 February 1760.

settlers, burning farms, and making abortive, yet ambitious, assaults against frontier strongholds.[9] While white South Carolinians may have vilified the Indians for their savagery, they committed acts of equally lurid brutality. For instance, after beating back a Cherokee attack on Ninety-Six in March, one jubilant defender wrote the Governor: "We now have the pleasure Sir, to fatten our Dogs with their Carcasses, and to Display their Scalps, neatly ornamented on the Top of our Bastions."[10] As the fighting progressed, terrorism and attrition became the hallmarks of the war.

During the first few weeks of the conflict, many settlers built private forts to protect their surrounding communities from Indian incursions. These hastily-constructed forts generally consisted of a stockade thrown up around a dwelling house.[11] The Tyger-Enoree Rivers region was particularly vulnerable to Cherokee raids and the inhabitants of this district erected at least six private forts.[12] Captain Edward Musgrove built one of these forts, situated about 30 miles northwest of Ninety-Six, on his Enoree River property.[13] Musgrove's Fort, also known as Fort William Henry Lyttelton, apparently stood six and a half miles southeast of present-day Whitmire on the south bank of the Enoree (see Figs. 5 & 6).[14] (This puts the site of the fort in what is now the Sumter National Forest in Newberry County.) Together with Lieutenant Samuel Aubrey's and Thomas

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[9] Brown, *South Carolina Regulators*, 5-8.

[10] Captain James Francis to Governor William Henry Lyttelton, 6 March 1760, South Carolina Book of Indian Affairs, vol. 6, 227-228.

[11] Brown, *South Carolina Regulators*, 5. For a list of these settlers' forts, see Meriwether, *Expansion of South Carolina*, 234-235n59; and Larry E. Ivers, *Colonial Forts of South Carolina, 1670-1775* (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1970), 19 (map), passim.

[12] Ivers, *Colonial Forts*, 19 (map), passim.

[13] Council Journal, 30 April 1760.

[14] Ivers, *Colonial Forts*, 75. Unfortunately, there is no deed or plat for this property.

Gordon's forts, Musgrove's Fort created a complex of defense just west of the Enoree's confluence with the Broad River (see Fig. 5).

In late-April 1760, Lieutenant Aubrey appeared before His Majesty's Council[15] in Charleston to deliver news from the Enoree front. He informed the Councilors that he and Musgrove had only thirty-six men, "including some young lads," between them to garrison both forts. Cherokee raids, the Lieutenant went on to report, had compelled over 350 women and children to seek refuge in the forts. Aubrey also implored the Council to send them a reinforcement of fifteen men per fort—a request to which the advisors readily agreed.[16] Less than a month later, Aubrey, who had apparently abandoned his fort in favor of Musgrove's, was back in Charleston to deliver an urgent dispatch from Musgrove.[17] Detailing the "distressed State" of his fort, Musgrove noted that the women and children within were suffering[18] from the lack of adequate clothing and appealed to the Council for immediate assistance.[19] Two days later, Lieutenant Governor William Bull read the Captain's letter before the Common's House of the General Assembly. Moved by the "repeated representations of Famine, Nakedness, and Sickness" that he had received from Musgrove and the commanders of other frontier forts,

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[15] According to South Carolina scholar Walter Edgar, the Council "fulfilled a multifunctional role in the colonial government. "It operated," Edgar continues, "as an upper house of the assembly, an advisory body to the governor, and the Court of Chancery." See Edgar, *South Carolina*, 116-117.

[16] Council Journal, 30 April 1760.

[17] Council Journal, 18 June 1760.

[18] The refugees were also suffering from lack of food; for Musgrove impressed a steer and hog for public use in April 1760; see Journal of the Commons House of the General Assembly, 22, 29 May 1761 (mfm at SCDAH). Hereafter cited as Commons Journal.

[19] Council Journal, 18 June 1760.

Bull entreated the House to allocate money for their amelioration.[20] The Commons House came through in early July, allowing £5000 for the "relief of the back settlers." However, in January 1761, Bull went back to the Commons, lamenting that the £5000 appropriation was insufficient for the task.[21]

While the refugees struggled to survive in the frontier forts, the South Carolina government was taking the war into Cherokee country. Not content to fight a purely defensive war, the Governor had appealed for British troops, which landed in Charleston in April 1760. Under the command of Colonel Archibald Montgomery, these 1300 redcoats—mostly Highlanders—marched inland, reaching Ninety-Six in late May. Soon thereafter, Montgomery's army, reinforced by roughly three hundred rangers, militiamen, and Indian scouts, pushed forward into Cherokee country. The advancing British troops laid waste to a number of Cherokee towns, but then stumbled into an ambuscade near the middle-settlement town of Etchoe (south of present-day Knoxville) on 27 June. After a sharp action, the Cherokees retreated, leaving Montgomery in possession of the field. According to the European standards of warfare, the British commander could and did claim victory; but it was a pyrrhic victory indeed. His army had suffered over seventy casualties and was deep in hostile territory, miles away from its supply base. Realizing the precariousness of his position, Montgomery elected to retire back to South Carolina. As the redcoats limped back into friendly

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[20] Council Journal, 18 June 1760; Terry W. Lipscomb, ed., *Journals of the Commons House of Assembly, 1757-1761,* Part 2 (Columbia: SC Dept. of Archives and History, 1996), 662-663, 797; Council Journal, 3 July 1760.

[21] Lipscomb, ed., *Journals of the Commons House of Assembly, 1757-1761,* Part 2, 675, 797-798.

territory, the Cherokees redoubled their efforts in the siege against Fort Loudoun, which finally capitulated in August.[22]

The following year, another expeditionary force, led by Lieutenant Colonel James Grant, brought the war home to the Cherokees once again. Composed chiefly of regulars, but also including significant numbers of militia, Grant's army numbered about 2,800 effectives. On 10 May 1761, Grant scattered a Cherokee force in a pitched battle fought near the scene of Montgomery's ambush the preceding year. But like Montgomery's "victory" in the first campaign, Grant's success on the battlefield, which cost his army over 60 killed and wounded, produced few tangible results. The Cherokee warriors simply vanished into the mountain forests and remained capable of continued resistance. Grant, meanwhile, proceeded to lay waste to fifteen Indian towns, destroying roughly 1400 acres of their crops. Although Grant boasted that he forced 5,000 Cherokees into the woods to die of hunger, the second campaign ended rather inconclusively in early July.[23]

Disappointed by the army's failure to inflict a decisive war-ending blow, many provincial leaders, both civil and military, singled out Lieutenant Colonel Grant as their scapegoat. Chief among Grant's detractors was Thomas Middleton, a wealthy merchant-planter who had commanded the provincial militia during the second expedition. Grant, chafing under the criticism, fired off his own

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[22] Corkran, *The Cherokee Frontier*, 207-219.
[23] Meriwether, *Expansion of South Carolina,* 237-239, Weir, *Colonial South Carolina*, 272.

recriminations against the militia leaders.[24] The ensuing controversy attested to a deeper fundamental problem that had plagued joint British-Colonial military operations since the seventeenth century. Generally, the British officer corps—composed primarily of sons of affluent Englishmen—held the provincial militia in low regard. While British disdain certainly derived from feelings of class superiority, it also stemmed from the defensible belief that the colonial militia (and its leaders) lacked formal military training, and, more importantly, proper discipline. Naturally, this disparagement produced feelings of resentment among the militia and often led to infighting between British army officers and their provincial counterparts. The feelings of mutual contempt became so heated after the second Cherokee expedition that Grant challenged Middleton to a duel. Fortunately for both participants, the duel ended without bloodshed.[25]

If Grant's expedition had not completely broken the Cherokees, it had certainly crippled the Indian nation and intensified feelings of war-weariness among its leaders. Finally, in September 1761, the Cherokees agreed to a peace treaty that required them to cede a significant amount of their eastern lands. The boundary between Anglo-America and Native-American territory became more clearly defined following the British government's establishment of the Royal Proclamation Line in 1763. Designed to keep white settlers east of the Appalachians, the Proclamation Line essentially ran down the crest of the mountain chain. The land west of the Proclamation Line, designated as "Indian

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[24] Weir, *Colonial South Carolina*, 273-274.

[25] Ibid., 273-275. For an excellent analysis of the Colonial-British military controversies, see Douglas E. Leach, *Roots of Conflict: British Armed Forces and Colonial Americans, 1677-1763* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986).

Country," was off limits to whites unless they received special authorization from the crown.

III. The Growth of the Backcountry

The cessation of the hostilities with the Cherokees in September 1761 allowed backcountry settlers to refocus their energies on improving their livelihoods. Even before the Cherokee War, a merchant class had been emerging in the South Carolina interior. These merchants not only contributed to the economy by opening stores and taverns, they also provided a source of credit to aspiring planters; thereby fostering the development of commercial agriculture. On a commercial level, piedmont planters cultivated such common staples as corn, wheat, and even tobacco, though to a lesser extent. Other cash crops included hemp, for making ropes and fabric, and indigo, a plant used to produce a valuable blue dye. (Indigo production, however, was primarily restricted to the lower backcountry.) In addition to growing crops, some settlers raised herds of livestock for meat, butter, and tallow.[1] Since the colony's major markets were located in Charleston, backcountry exporters had to transport their goods to the thriving port city, where, after selling their own produce, they could purchase manufactured goods and other essentials.[2]

The rise of staple agriculture in the backcountry created a greater demand for slave labor. By the late 1760s, persons of African descent accounted for roughly twenty percent of the backcountry population, which numbered about thirty-five thousand in total. Yet the vast majority of the South Carolina slave population was still concentrated in the tidewater; only about one of every twelve slaves in the colony lived in the interior. "[B]efore the Revolution," historian Rachel N. Klein

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[1] Klein, *Unification of a Slave State*, 15-19.
[2] Brown, *South Carolina Regulators*, 16-17.

has observed, "the backcountry's wealthiest slaveholders were concentrated below the fall line in the region that would later be described as the "middlecountry."" After having examined an array of backcountry inventories dating from 1754 to 1774, Klein concluded that "[m]ore than half of the piedmont inventories did not list slaves, as compared to only about one-fifth from the middlecountry." Klein also discovered "that the wealthiest fifth of piedmont estates included only an average of eight slaves, while the comparable group from the middlecountry included an average of nineteen." The institution of slavery did not begin to make significant inroads in the upcountry until the turn of the nineteenth century. In fact, in 1790, slaves composed less than fifteen percent of the upper piedmont's population and only eight percent of upcountry households owned more than five slaves.[3] When Edward Musgrove died in Laurens County in 1790, he left six slaves to his wife Ann.[4]

The same elaborate network of rivers and creeks that created rich bottomlands for agriculture also posed a monumental obstacle to transportation. Overland travel became the favored mode of transportation because settlers could not get from the interior to the lowcountry by boat alone. A series of rocky outcrops, scattered across the rivers along the western edge of the sandhills, saw to that (see Figs. 1 & 2). Creating shoals and low falls (hence the term "fall line"), these outcrops made the rivers unnavigable; therefore setters had to rely primarily on terra firma. But land travel certainly had problems of its own. Early

[3] Klein, *Unification of a Slave State*, 19-22 (19n22), 110, 253-254.

[4] See "Will of Edward Musgrove," 25 August 1790, Laurens County Estate Records Book A-1, 28-30. Also on record is a 1765 bill of sale documenting a transaction in which Edward Musgrove sold two slaves to Charles King; see Misc. Records, Book OO, 337.

on, the backcountry's lack of adequate infrastructure—i.e., roads, bridges, ferries—was a major impediment to efficient travel. Inclement weather only compounded the difficulties. In addition to turning roads into thoroughfares of mud, heavy rains flooded rivers, which made it impossible to cross at fords or ferries. Furthermore, the distances between points in the back- and lowcountries made travel between the two regions exceedingly time-consuming. Even under hospitable weather conditions, it took a settler, riding on horseback, from ten days to two weeks to make a round trip to Charleston from the backcountry settlements of Long Canes or Ninety-Six. Those traveling by wagon could expect to be on the road even longer.[5]

Backcountry residents not only visited Charleston to market their commodities, but they also had to make the trip routinely to conduct official business. Local government on the county level had yet to be instituted in the backcountry and all the courts and administrative offices were located in the provincial capital.[6] In the late-seventeenth century, the colonial proprietors had created four coastal counties whose somewhat ill-defined boundaries ran inland indefinitely. These counties, however, "were merely vague geographic entities" and because the offices of government remained centralized in Charleston, they never possessed any real administrative authority.[7] So, "If a person wanted to register a deed, prove a will, swear out a warrant, or file a lawsuit," as one

[5] Meriwether, *Expansion of South Carolina*, 9-10; Brown, *South Carolina Regulators*, 14; Klein, *Unification of a Slave State*, 36.
[6] Klein, *Unification of a Slave State*, 36.
[7] Brown, *The South Carolina Regulators*, 14.

scholar has noted, "a trip to Charleston was necessary."[8] Consequently, it was in the interest of backcountry planters to improve the interior's infrastructure so as to reduce the amount of travel time.

As early as 1757, settlers along the Broad, Enoree, and Tyger Rivers had unsuccessfully petitioned the General Assembly to establish a public road for "Wheel Carriages" so that they could "transport their Produce to Charles-town."[9] Although first settled in the late 1740s, this region had been slow to develop.[10] For example, as late as 1765, a group of backcountry inhabitants—including Edward Musgrove, now a justice of the peace[11]—complained of the lack of mills to grind their wheat. This same group also petitioned the Assembly to establish a road running through the "Fork at Gordon's Fort on Enoree River to Mr. Moses Kirkland's Ferry on the Saluda." The Assembly agreed and Musgrove became a commissioner of the upper part of the road.[12] While Musgrove and Kirkland may have worked together in securing approval for their road, a crisis was brewing in the backcountry that would soon make them enemies.

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[8] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 205.

[9] Terry W. Lipscomb, ed., *The Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, November 1755-July 1757* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1989), 352.

[10] For specifics on the settlement of this region, see Meriwether, *Expansion of South Carolina*, 149-150.

[11] Musgrove served as a justice of the peace for Berkeley County for most of the 1760s. He secured the position in 1762 and his appointment was renewed in 1765 and 1767. In 1765, he also served as a tax collector for the north side of the Broad River. See *South Carolina Gazette*, 3 April 1762 and 31 October 1765; *South Carolina Advertiser and General Gazette*, 16 to 23 October 1767; Thomas Cooper, ed., *Statutes at Large of South Carolina, 1752-1786*, vol. 4. Columbia: A. S. Johnston, 1838), 217.

[12] Salley, ed. *Journal of the Commons House, 1765*, 93; McCord, ed., *Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, vol. 9, 211. According to historian Robert Meriwether, the Kings Creek-Crims Creek road, as depicted in Robert Mills' "Newberry District" map (*Atlas of South Carolina in 1825*), approximates the route of the upper section of the road that ran from Gordon's Fort to Kirkland's Ferry; see Meriwether, *Expansion of South Carolina*, 171.

IV. The Regulator Movement

In the mid-1760s, a crime wave of appalling magnitude broke out in the Carolina backcountry, plunging the region into a state tantamount to anarchy. While victory against the Cherokees may have eliminated the Indian threat, backcountry citizens now faced a new terror: marauding gangs of outlaws. "The frontier in America," as one historian has observed, "had always attracted a certain lawless element," but the Carolina interior seemed to support a disproportionately large amount of miscreants.[1] Having turned to their lives of crime during the Cherokee War—when the vacant homes of refugees afforded easy plunder—the outlaws established their own settlements in the Carolina backcountry. Women, children, and the elderly lived in these strongholds and the gangs readily accepted mulattoes, runaway slaves, and free blacks into their fold.[2]

Criminal activity had been on the rise since the Cherokee War, but nothing could prepare backcountry citizens for the terror that struck during the summers of 1766 and 1767. From the Savannah to the Broad to the Pee Dee, gangs of freebooters brutalized backcountry citizens with virtual impunity. They burned houses, stole horses and other property, tortured victims to induce them to turn over their hidden valuables, kidnapped women and children, and committed rape as well as murder. During their 1766 depredations, the outlaws so intimidated the inhabitants of Camden that the militia, fearing reprisal, refused to rise against them. The few outlaws who were apprehended were sent to Charleston for trial.

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[1] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 212.

[2] Weir, *Colonial South Carolina*, 275; Brown, *The South Carolina Regulators*, 29-30; Edgar, *South Carolina*, 212.

In March 1767, the Court of General Sessions handed down six convictions; with all but one of the convicts receiving death sentences. Governor Montagu, however, pardoned the five condemned men. Since he had been in office for less than a year, Montagu hoped to garner the affection of the populace by making a show of clemency. Yet many backcountrymen felt betrayed and decided to take matters into their own hands.[3]

Following the terrible summer of 1767, a group of planters and merchants, led by some of the most respectable men in the backcountry, set out to restore the rule of law to their communities. Calling themselves the "Regulators," these vigilantes attacked outlaw settlements, rounded up suspects, tied them to trees, and meted out severe floggings. Then, in November, four of the leading Regulators—including Moses Kirkland, Edward Musgrove's fellow commissioner on the road from Gordon's Fort to Kirkland's Ferry—traveled to Charleston to submit a scathingly written "Remonstrance".[4] Authored by Charles Woodmason, an itinerant Anglican minister and ardent supporter of the Regulators, the petition not only included twenty-three grievances, but also contained criticism of the political establishment that the Assembly took as an affront. The Regulator leaders apologized for the offending passages and soon thereafter the legislature took the first steps toward redressing their grievances.[5]

Seeking to bring order to the Carolina backcountry, the Regulators appealed to the

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[3] Brown, *The South Carolina Regulators*, 34-38.

[4] The Remonstrance has been reprinted in its entirety in Richard J. Hooker, *Charles Woodmason: The Carolina Backcountry on the Eve of the Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press,1953), 213-246.

[5] Ibid., 38-43.

Assembly to institute a more comprehensive system of local government. They wanted their own regional courts, courthouses, law enforcement officials, and jails. The establishment of other stabilizing institutions, such as churches and schools, also figured prominently into their demands. Furthermore, they requested better representation in the General Assembly, the regulation of taverns, and tax reform.[6] The first order of business, however, was to subdue the gangs. In November 1767, the legislature deputized fifty-four Regulators to serve as rangers against the outlaw plague. These Regulators, now legitimized as rangers, hunted down fugitives with a vengeance, pursuing them as far as Virginia. When the campaign came to an end in March 1768, the rangers had restored law and order to the backcountry, or so it seemed.[7]

For the Regulators, the eradication of the outlaw gangs was just the first component of a greater vision for promoting stability in their region. Instead of disbanding after the campaign of early 1768, they redirected their vigilante efforts against "the marginal element of the Back Country—those who failed to measure up to respectable standards of morality and industry." The Regulators sought to purge the backcountry of idleness, vagrancy, and vice. Accordingly, they began targeting the poor and those whom they believed were their social and moral inferiors. In June 1768, a "Congress" of Regulators from across the backcountry convened at the Congarees to draw up a plan for disciplining "the baser sort of people." Since South Carolina was the only southern colony that lacked a vagrancy law, the Regulators took it upon themselves to enforce their own brand

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[6] Weir, *Colonial South Carolina*, 276; Edgar, *South Carolina*, 213.
[7] Brown, *The South Carolina Regulators*, 44-46.

of backcountry justice. Their "Plan of Regulation" called for cleansing the countryside of the more intractable sorts of idlers, while putting those they deemed "reclaimable" to work as agricultural laborers.[8]

The Regulators now exerted control over the entire backcountry. Yet the power went to many of their heads and some seized the opportunity to settle old scores. The whip became the favored weapon of retribution and "[f]logging to excess became a sadistic entertainment rather than a punishment for wrongdoing."[9] Not even Edward Musgrove, a justice of the peace, was immune to Regulator persecution. For reasons unknown, Musgrove became the verbal target of Moses Kirkland, one of the most powerful Regulator leaders. Kirkland castigated Musgrove "as a man reputed, and believed to be, a very bad person, and encourager and conniver of thieves and robbers, to the great annoyance of His Majesty's good subjects in these parts."[10] The foremost historian of the Regulator movement in South Carolina, Richard M. Brown, however, has dismissed Kirkland's allegations, asserting: "Edward Musgrove's long and honorable career makes it unlikely that he was guilty of the malpractices of which Kirkland accused him." As a justice of the peace, Musgrove most likely opposed "the illegality and excesses of the Regulators" and thus incurred their disfavor.[11]

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[8] Ibid., 46-50.
[9] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 214.
[10] *South Carolina Gazette*, 9 May 1768.
[11] Brown, *The South Carolina Regulators*, 88. Two lawsuits filed against him, however, indicate that Musgrove's conduct was not always above reproach. In 1769, one Charles King successfully sued Musgrove for £400 for "promises and assumptions" that the latter had made but failed to carry out. The following year, Musgrove's own brother, John, took him to court for an outstanding debt of £1,150, an extravagant sum in those days. John won the case and the court compelled Edward to pay his brother's court costs in addition to colossal debt. See Charleston Court of Common Pleas, Judgment Rolls, Box 84A, 233A and Box 87A, 96A (on mfm at SCDAH).

Musgrove, however, was but one of many backcountry citizens who had cause to resent the heavy-handedness of the vigilantes. A flood of lawsuits soon inundated the Charleston courts, but the Regulators blocked the delivery of warrants from the capital. In utter defiance of the governmental process, the Regulators captured and assaulted a deputy provost marshal sent to serve papers in the western backcountry. Other officials received similar treatment.[12] Clearly, the colonial administration in Charleston could not tolerate such insolence and in August 1768, Lieutenant Governor William Bull issued two proclamations. The first one "called for the suppression of the Regulators;" and the second "offered a pardon to all who should henceforth keep the peace."[13] Although the Regulators refused to comply, they did put a stop to their subversive activities in mid autumn. Satisfied, the provincial government, which still sympathized with the Regulator cause, elected not to force the issue and thereby yielded control of the backcountry to the vigilantes.[14]

The Regulators, in the meantime, went to work at increasing their representation in the Assembly. Since local government had yet to be established in the backcountry, pro-Regulator voters had to travel hundreds of miles to the lowcountry parishes—the geographical subdivisions of the Anglican church which doubled as representational districts for the Commons House—to cast their votes. Their zealousness paid off; for in the October 1768 elections, six regulators, including Moses Kirkland, won seats in the Commons House. The newly elected Regulators, however, would only serve as

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[12] Weir, *Colonial South Carolina*, 277; Edgar, *South Carolina*, 214-215.
[13] Brown, *The South Carolina Regulators*, 58.
[14] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 215; Brown, *The South Carolina Regulators*, 58.

representatives for four days. Upset by the Assembly's endorsement of a Massachusetts circular denouncing the Townshend Duties, Governor Montagu dissolved the legislative body on 19 November 1768.[15] Thus, Regulator hopes for better representation in the provincial government were sidelined not by a conspiracy against them, but by the escalating imperial crisis between the colonies and the mother country.

Governor Montagu's dissolution of the Commons House of the General Assembly may have taken some of the lift out of the Regulators' ascent, but the vigilantes faced an even greater challenge from within their own communities during the winter of 1768-69.[16] Outraged by the arbitrary floggings and other Regulator excesses, some of the backcountry's most established citizens allied themselves with the lower class to form the aptly named Moderator movement. Many Moderators had suffered under Regulator whips, including the movement's co-founder, John Musgrove, who was victimized repeatedly. A major in the provincial militia, and younger brother of Edward Musgrove, John Musgrove had emerged as a leading planter in the Saluda River region. In early 1769, the Regulators menaced him so terribly that he had to temporarily abandon his home to escape their harassment. Distraught, Musgrove sought the help of a friend, Jonathan Gilbert, a justice of the peace also residing in the Saluda region. Late in February, Gilbert appeared before the Governor and His Majesty's Council in Charleston. The Justice not only related the harrowing details of Musgrove's

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[15] Brown, *The South Carolina Regulators*, 61-63.

[16] The following discussion of the Moderator movement was drawn from Brown, *The South Carolina Regulators*, 90-95, 204-205.

ordeal, but also delivered affidavits from a number of other aggrieved backcountrymen. Sympathetic to the plight of these citizens, the Council reacted decisively, stripping seven high-ranking Regulators of their commissions as officers in the militia, while also revoking the offices of two others who were serving as justices of the peace. Musgrove and Gilbert, now under the aegis of the government, began organizing their Moderator movement in early March. Convinced that they would have to rely on "strong-arm tactics" to bring down the Regulators, the Moderator leaders enlisted the support of Joseph Coffell, a hard-bitten constable from the Orangeburg area. Coffell may have been a rather unsavory character, but he brought with him the support of the lower class and his pugnacious nature made him just the sort of man to check the power of the Regulators.

Soon after Coffell joined the Moderators, he and John Musgrove were selected to bring several leading Regulators into custody. They raised 100 men and began to round up the offenders, seizing the opportunity to exact revenge on anyone associated with the rival movement. Although their methods were no more violent or reprehensible than those of their Regulator counterparts, the Moderators lost the support of the Governor and Council in late March, after reports of Coffell's abusiveness reached Charleston. Undaunted by the loss of the government's sponsorship, the Moderators stayed true to their mission and their numbers soon swelled to between 600 and 700. In response to this intensifying threat, the Regulators also mobilized and marched, with a comparable number of men, to confront the Moderators, who had assembled at

John Musgrove's plantation on the Saluda River. On 25 March, the opposing forces squared off with the intention of settling the affair in battle. Apparently, the antagonists had already exchanged random shots when two prominent backcountrymen, Richard Richardson and William Thompson, both of whom would go on to distinguish themselves during the Revolutionary War, rode onto the field with orders from Charleston. These men were well respected and used their influence to convince the rival leaders to engage in a parley. Richardson and Thompson presented the Moderators with the government's command for their dispersal, but Musgrove and Coffell remained defiant; for they knew that such an act would only occasion a return to nightmare of Regulator rule. The negotiators, however, refused to give up. In an adept display of diplomacy, they worked through the impasse and diffused a situation that could have easily resulted in bloodshed or even civil war in the backcountry. According to the terms of the truce, both sides agreed to disband and pledged to subject themselves to legitimate governmental authority. With this reconciliation, the Regulator crisis, which had consumed the colony for nearly two years, came to an end.

Before the backcountry citizenry decided to take its destiny into its own hands, the self-important and neglectful "city state" of Charleston had essentially relegated the Carolina interior to a status that bordered on vassalage. But in geopolitical terms, the Regulators had demonstrated that the backcountry was now a region that could no longer be ignored. As a result of the Regulation, the

legislature passed the important Circuit Court Act of 1769.[17] This act divided the backcountry into four new judicial districts, which were centered around and named for the four principal backcountry towns of Ninety-Six, Orangeburg, Camden, and the Cheraws (see Fig. 7).[18] The Act also provided for the construction of courthouses and jails in each of these districts, in addition to creating the law-enforcement office of sheriff for each district. As for the installation of local government on the county level, however, the backcountry would have to wait until after the Revolution in 1785 (see Fig. 8).[19]

[17] The Circuit Court Act of 1769 is republished in its entirety in Brown, *The South Carolina Regulators*, 148-158.

[18] The Ninety-Six District encompassed the areas in which both Edward and John Musgrove resided. In 1779, Edward Musgrove served as a juror for a trial held at the Ninety-Six courthouse; see Gelee Corley Hendrix and Morn McKoy Lindsay, comps., *The Jury Lists of South Carolina, 1778-1779* (Greenville, SC: 1975), 82, 93.

[19] Michael E. Stauffer, *The Formation of Counties in South Carolina* (Columbia: South Carolina Dept. of Archives and History, 1994).

Epilogue: The Musgrove's Mill Tract, 1790-1975

When the state legislature finally established counties in the backcountry in 1785, Edward Musgrove was residing at his "dwelling plantation," as he called it, on the south side of the Enoree River.[1] Over a decade before, he had erected his well-known mill on this very property. He and his family had also weathered the harrowing years of the Revolutionary War there.[2] With the delineation of new counties, the "mill tract" fell within Laurens County, just below its junction with Union and Spartanburg Counties (see Fig. 6). As already mentioned in this study, no land record documenting Musgrove's acquisition of the tract has surfaced, but he apparently came into possession of it sometime between 1765 and 1774.[3]

Musgrove possibly first acquainted himself with the tract in 1767, when, as deputy surveyor, he drew up a plat for Samuel Chew's land on the north side of the Enoree River.[4] In this plat, the deputy surveyor depicted a "Wagon Road" bisecting the Chew tract on a north-south axis (see Fig. 9). This thoroughfare—distinguished as the "Charleston Road" in a later plat—traversed the Enoree, at a

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[1] Today, antebellum connotations largely inform the general definition of the word "plantation". The term typically evokes images of a sprawling, self-contained agro-complex, utilizing the labor of hundreds of slaves. But in the eighteenth century, southern colonists used the word not only to refer to these larger estates, but also to describe smaller farms with few numbers of slaves. In this more literal sense, any land under cultivation could be deemed a plantation. Thus, when Musgrove called his farm a plantation, he did so without knowledge of the nineteenth-century nuances that came to characterize the common meaning of the word.

[2] For more on Musgrove and his property during the Revolutionary War, see Part 1, Section 3 of this study.

[3] In 1765, Musgrove, as we have seen, served as a commissioner for the upper section of the Gordon's Fort-Kirkland's Ferry Road. This indicates that he was still living in what is now Newberry County at that time. Yet thanks to a confirmatory plat, which specifically mentions Musgrove's Mill, we know that Musgrove had taken up residence on the Laurens County property by 1774. See McCord, ed., *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, vol. 9, 211; McCrady Plat #6243.

[4] 1767 Plat for Samuel Chew, South Carolina Colonial Plats, vol. 9, 287.

fordable point east of Cedar Shoals Creek, and then continued southward.[5] After Musgrove acquired his property on the south side of the river, opposite the Chew tract, this ford would come to bear his name (see Fig. 10).

The limitations of the land records, unfortunately, have made it impossible to determine the prior ownership, if any, of the mill tract. Consequently, we do not know if the land had been altered by any improvements, besides the wagon road, before Musgrove established his farmstead and mill there. Furthermore, since no primary description of the Musgrove farm has been found, we can only speculate as to the size and architectural characteristics of the mill and dwelling house. Upcountry tradition holds that the two-story, five-bay house, which burned on the property in 1971, was the original Musgrove dwelling (see Figs. 11 & 12). Yet this belief fails to stand up to scrutiny. First of all, a direct descendant of Edward Musgrove has maintained that Tories torched the first dwelling late in the Revolutionary War.[6] This seems entirely plausible given the vindictive nature of the "civil war" that raged in the Carolina backcountry during the Revolution. Secondly, extant photographs of the burned home show that it was an extended I-house—a vernacular adaptation of the hall-and-parlor plan that originated in the nineteenth century and remained popular into the twentieth—and therefore too modern to be the original house.[7] These photographs, however, also reveal that the structure had undergone significant alterations; thus one might argue that an older home could have been enlarged and then encapsulated within a more

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[5] 1804 Plat for John Pucket, South Carolina State Plats, Charleston Series, vol. 40, 225.
[6] Mrs. L. D. Childs, "Story of Musgrove's Mill," in *Laurens Advertiser*, 5 July 1911.
[7] For diagrams and representative photographs of I-houses, see Virginia and Lee McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses* (Reprint, New York: Knopf, 1994), 80, 96-97.

recent facade. Even if this was the case, we still could not be certain that the core structure was indeed the original house. This issue, therefore, is unlikely to be resolved without extensive archeological investigation of the site.[8]

Before Edward Musgrove died in 1790,[9] he drew up his last will and testament and bequeathed, to his son William, his "dwelling plantation Mill" with all adjacent land, under the condition that his wife Ann would retain ownership and enjoy the profits of the plantation and mill during her life.[10] The probated inventory of his material "goods, Chattels, etc.", excluding real property (i.e. land and structures), discloses that Musgrove left an estate valued at about £861, of which £525 was

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[8] It should be noted that the site of the fire-demolished house has been disturbed. In 1974, three Erskine College undergraduates and a team of high school students conducted a "training" excavation at the burned-house site and may have compromised its archeological integrity. As Dr. William Kuykendall, the supervisor of the excavation, acknowledged: "[t]he expedition suffered from various factors which frustrated ambitions...considerably. The crew was made up of high school students whose inexperience and immaturity contributed to much of the problem." In addition, inclement weather limited the excavation to only eight days and Dr. Kuykendall's teaching obligations kept him from regularly visiting the site to oversee the progress of the dig. The artifacts uncovered, according to Kuykendall, are most likely in storage at Erskine College (Due West, SC). See William H. F. Kuykendall, et al, "Report on Archaeological Excavation of the Site of the Mary Musgrove House," unpublished typescript, dated January 1974; William H. F. Kuykendall, Due West, SC, to Donnie Barker, Columbia, SC, 11 May 1996. Both of these sources are located in the Musgrove's Mill Archeology Folder on file at the South Carolina State Parks' central office in Columbia.

[9] Musgrove's will is dated 25 August 1790 and since the 1790 Census lists Ann Musgrove as head of household, Edward must have died sometime after he filed his will but before the end of that year. Ann Musgrove's own land acquisitions provide further support for the 1790 death date. In 1791, she purchased, in her own name, two parcels of land near the mill tract. See "Will of Edward Musgrove," 25 August 1790, Laurens County Office of the Probate Judge, Estate Records Book A-1, 28-30; Population Schedules of the First Census of the United States, 1790, South Carolina, Laurens County, page 440 (on mfm at SCDAH); South Carolina State Plats (Charleston Series), vol. 27, 496 and vol. 28, 25.

[10] In addition to willing the mill tract to his son William, Edward left £50 to his eldest son, Edward Beaks Musgrove (by then a grown man), and £20 a piece to his two married daughters, Rebecca Cameron and Mary Berry. Musgrove also left five slaves—namely Tom, Phillis, Judy, Kezie, and Charlotte—to his wife, with instructions for them to be divided among her seven children, presumably from a previous marriage, after her death. Although not mentioned in the will, a "Negro Child named Joe" turns up in the inventory of Musgrove's estate. See "Will of Edward Musgrove," 28, 30; "Inventory of the Estate of Edward Musgrove," Laurens County, Ordinary/Probate Judge, Assorted Papers (Unsorted), Box 5 (L30146), on file at SCDAH.

in currency (bonds, notes, and accounts).[11] From this inventory, we can infer that the proprietor of the mill engaged in animal husbandry, at least on small-scale basis, as would be expected of a farmer. At the time of his death, Musgrove owned 8 head of cattle, 29 hogs, and 16 geese. He also owned 3 horses, collectively worth £30. Thus, we can reasonably conclude that a significant portion of his 150-acre tract would have been used for pasturage.[12]

Other implements and goods enumerated in the inventory indicate that Musgrove devoted the majority of his tilled land to the cultivation of corn, but he also raised significant quantities of flax (for making linen) and cotton, and even kept beehives, presumably for the production of honey and wax. The family most likely raised the fiber crops (flax and cotton) to make cloth for home consumption.[13] The presence of the mill, however, suggests that its proprietor grew corn, and possibly even wheat, on a commercial basis. Musgrove doubtlessly earned additional money by grinding the grains of other local planters at his gristmill.[14] In addition to the mill, the Musgrove farm certainly consisted of other dependencies and outbuildings to support the agricultural pursuits. One would expect to find a kitchen (detached from the house due to the fire hazard), a barn (or corncribs), a corral (or some sort of pen) for his livestock, quarters for his 6 slaves, and perhaps even a stable for his horses. There is also the possibility

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[11] "Inventory of the Estate of Edward Musgrove," Laurens County, Ordinary/Probate Judge, Assorted Papers (Unsorted), Box 5 (L30146).

[12] The reference to the acreage of Musgrove's "mill tract" appears in a 1796 deed; see Laurens County Deeds, Book F, 109-110.

[13] The inventoried items associated with cloth production are as follows: 1 loom, 2 cotton wheels, 2 pair of cotton cards, 3 flax wheels, 2 flax heckles (hatchels); see ibid.

[14] Since the inventory of Musgrove's estate does not mention planks or quantities of wood, as we might expect if he owned a sawmill, we can reasonably assume that the mill was strictly of the grist variety.

that a blacksmith's forge existed on the site, as large quantities of raw iron and nails turned up in the inventory of his estate.

Following Musgrove's death, his widow Ann remarried a certain David Smith, who later became indebted to a nearby property owner named George Gordon. In 1795, Gordon filed a writ of fieri facias[15] against the Smiths. Executing the writ in December of that year, the sheriff of Laurens County seized two parcels of land (for 75 and 65 acres respectively) that Ann Musgrove, now Smith, had acquired in the vicinity of the mill tract back in 1791.[16] These parcels, however, were insufficient to settle Smith's debt to Gordon, and in January 1796, the couple also forfeited the property "known by the name of Musgrove's Mill tract," containing 150 acres.[17] For this reason, Musgrove's Mill appears as Gordon's Mill in Robert Mills' 1825 *Atlas of South Carolina* (Fig. 10). The mill tract did not come back into the Musgrove family until 1840, after Gordon died and William Musgrove purchased the land that his father had willed to him. Gordon had enlarged the property, which encompassed 318 acres when William Musgrove acquired it.[18]

Fortunately for us, William Musgrove had a plat drawn up for the mill tract in 1840 (see Fig. 13). This plat not only shows the locations of the dwelling house, road, and mill; but it also represents a bridge over the Enoree River. Eight local property owners, including William Musgrove, had apparently built this bridge in

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[15] According to *Blacks Law Dictionary,* fieri facias is "a writ of execution commanding the sheriff to levy and make the amount of a judgment from the goods and chattels of the judgment debtor." See Henry C. Black, *Black's Law Dictionary*, 5th edition (St. Paul, MN: West Publishing Inc., 1979), 565.

[16] South Carolina State Plats (Charleston Series), vol. 27, 496 and vol. 28, 25. For Gordon's acquisition of Ann (Musgrove) Smith's tracts; see Laurens County Deed Books, vol. F, 57, 58.

[17] Laurens County Deeds, Book F, 109-110.

[18] South Carolina State Plats (Columbia Series), vol. 52, 410. That same year, William Musgrove acquired another 70 acres, adjacent to the mill tract, from the estate of George Gordon; see Laurens County Deed Books, vol. N, 303.

the late 1830s. In an undated petition to the General Assembly, Musgrove and his business partners stated that they had constructed, across the Enoree, a bridge that connected Laurens and Union Counties. These men submitted their petition to the Assembly to request "right of way," through the land left by the deceased George Gordon, because they sought to turn their bridge into a toll bridge. Perhaps, then, Musgrove acquired the property from Gordon's estate to secure this right of way.[19]

The estate records of William Musgrove, who died in 1848, indicate that he owned more than one mill, and, since "lots" of pine and oak planks are listed in the inventory of his estate, we can conclude that either he or Gordon had built a sawmill on the property. Furthermore, the presence of blacksmithing tools in his inventory confirms that a forge, possibly dating back to his father's tenure, was located on the property. The contents of William Musgrove's estate can also be used to chart the agricultural expansion of the farm. At the time of his death, he owned 18 slaves, close to 30 head of cattle, 36 swine, 6 goats, and 4 mules. Since Musgrove's estate inventory listed 3,000 pounds of pork, it appears that raising hogs was a major enterprise on the farm. To handle such a significant quantity of pork, Musgrove would have needed a smokehouse or some other sort of curing facility on site. Produce-wise, Musgrove's estate included 700 bushels of corn, over 200 bushels of wheat, and $217 worth of picked cotton; plus he had substantial crops of potatoes, turnips, and cabbage in the field when he died.[20]

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[19] Petition to the General Assembly, ND-4545-01 (on file at SCDAH).
[20] "Estate of William Musgrove," Laurens Co., Probate Estate Papers, Box 104, Pkg. 1.

As stipulated in William Musgrove's will, his nephew Edward M. Bobo received the "Mill Tract of Land," which embraced "443 acres and mills."[21] According to the Industry Schedule of the 1850 Census, E. M. Bobo had two water-powered gristmills and a water-powered sawmill in operation. Bobo estimated his annual production at 666 bushels of flour for the first gristmill and 4000 bushels of flour for the second; whereas the sawmill boasted a yearly output of 100,000 feet of planks (pine, oak, poplar).[22] The Slave and Agriculture Schedules, for the same year, report that Bobo owned 23 slaves and that 200 of his 440 acres had been improved. The total value of his farm, the Census also notes, was $7,000. Raising livestock remained an integral part of the farm's operations during Bobo's tenure and in 1850, he owned 10 milch cows, 20 cattle, 30 sheep, and 35 swine. The main products of his farm for that year were corn, wheat, oats, cotton, wool, potatoes (both Irish and sweet), butter, and cheese.[23]

Only four years after inheriting the property, Bobo lost the mills in an August 1852 flood. A Laurens newspaper reported: "Dr. Bobo's mills, formerly Musgrove's, are both gone. The saw-mill washed away during the freshet, and the grist-mill was so moved, that when the waters subsided, it fell and was crushed to pieces."[24] The fact that the author of the newspaper article observed that *both* mills were destroyed, when the Industry Schedule of the 1850 Census

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[21] Ibid.

[22] Industry Schedule, 1850, Laurens District, in United States Bureau of the Census, Original Agriculture, Industry, Social Statistics, and Mortality Schedules for South Carolina, 1850-1870 (on mfm at SCDAH).

[23] Slave Schedule, 1850, Laurens District; Agricultural Schedule, 1850, Laurens District, both in ibid.

[24] John B. O'Neall reprinted the newspaper article in his book, *The Annals of Newberry: Historical, Biographical, and Anecdotal* (Charleston: Courtenay & Co., 1859), 372.

documented that Bobo owned three, suggests that one of these mills was a combination grist/sawmill.

In 1859, Lewis Yarborough purchased the "Musgrove's Mill Tract," now embracing 500 acres, from the executors of Bobo's estate.[25] Yarborough appears as the owner of the property on an 1883 map of Laurens County (see Fig. 14). This map also depicts a bridge, distinguished as "Musgrove's Bridge," connecting Laurens and Spartanburg Counties. The remains, or stone and concrete foundation footings, of this bridge are located within Musgrove's Mill State Historic Site, about 0.35 miles upstream from the Highway 56 Bridge. Since "Musgrove's Bridge"—that is the bridge between Laurens and Spartanburg Counties—does not appear on William Musgrove's plat of the mill tract, we can conclude that its first manifestation was not constructed until after 1840. Photographs of this bridge appear in a set of early twentieth-century postcards of the Musgrove' Mill vicinity (see Fig. 15). (These postcards also reveal that a dam once stood between the bridge and mill.) Although the exact year in which the bridge was abandoned[26] remains unknown, its demise was probably concurrent with the creation of Highway 56 in the early 1930s.[27]

The bridge, however, was still in existence in 1897 when the executor of Lewis Yarborough's estate sold the mill tract to R. C. Burnett. This transaction reduced the tract to 397¾ acres, which included small parcels across the Enoree

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[25] Laurens County Deed Books, vol. Q, 307-308.

[26] The bridge appears on a 1926 map drawn by a local (see Fig. 9 in Part 1 of this study), but not on the Highway Department's 1939 transportation map for Laurens County (see Fig. 17).

[27] In July 1932, the SCDOT approved a 9.4-mile extension of Highway 56 from Clinton to a point two miles north of the Enoree River. Nearly five years later, the DOT paved this section of road, up to the Union County line, with bituminous surface. See South Carolina Department of

in Union and Spartanburg Counties.[28] By the time that Burnett acquired the property, at least one of the mills lost in the 1852 freshet had been reconstructed. This mill appears in a photograph taken in the late 1890s (Fig. 16).

Only six years after purchasing the property, Burnett turned around and sold it to the Thornwell Orphanage.[29] The Orphanage continued to use the mill tract as a farm and utilized the I-house, reputed to be the Musgrove dwelling (see Fig. 11), as housing for the Willard family, who the Orphanage had employed to take care of its cattle. The Willards lived in the home, which lacked electricity, from 1928 to 1959. After the Willards vacated the premises, the house was permanently abandoned and fell into disrepair before burning in 1971.[30] Finally, in 1975, the Thornwell Orphanage sold 330.39 acres of the mill tract to the South Carolina Department of Parks, Recreation, and Tourism.[31]

Transportation, Commission Meeting Minute Books, July-December, 1932, 15 and January-June, 1937, 259.

[28] Laurens County Deed Books, vol. 9, 32-33.

[29] Laurens County Deed Books, vol. 14, 120.

[30] "Hugh Williard Has Musgrove Mill Memories," in *The Clinton Chronicle*, 21 May 1981, 1B.

[31] Laurens County Deed Books, vol. 208, 421.

Appendix:
Edward Musgrove's Land Records

Note: Unless otherwise noted, these records are all on microform at the South Carolina Department of Archives & History.

Surveyor General's Office. Colonial Plats.

- Vol. 6, 312. Plat #1, [1756]: 150A in Berkeley Co. situated between fork of Broad & Saluda, bounded by Tyger on SW.
- Vol. 6, 312. Plat #2, [1756]: 250A in Berkeley Co. between fork of Broad & Saluda, adjacent to island owned by Thomas Cooper.
- Vol. 8, 233. [1765]: 100A in Berkeley Co. between fork of Broad & Saluda, situated on a small branch of the Enoree known as Indian Creek, bounded on SE by Abraham Anderson & on NE by Hasfield.
- Vol. 8, 361. [1765]: 100A in Craven Co. situated on a small fork of Sandy River, a branch of the Broad, about three miles from Cultaubee (sp?) road.
- Vol. 15, 57 (Not on mfm, found in copied plat book). [1768]: 150A in Craven Co. on N side of Enoree.

Secretary of State. Colonial Land Grants [Royal Grants].

- Vol. 8, 361. [1758]: 150A between fork of Broad & Saluda on Tyger River in Berkeley Co.
- Vol. 13, 497. [1766]: 100A in Berkeley Co. bounded on SW by Tyger.

Public Register. Conveyance Books. Charleston Deeds.

- Book 3H, 174. [1759]: Christopher Miller & Wife to Edward Musgrove, 200A between Broad & Catawba on Sandy River (branch of Broad), crossing wagon road about four miles from Fish Dam on Broad.
- Book 3M, 362. [1761]: Edward Musgrove to Joseph Cannamore; 100A in Craven County on a branch of the Broad River.
- Book 3H, 181. [1764]: Musgrove to Thomas Fletchall; 200A on Sandy River, same land Musgrove purchased from Miller (Book 3H, 174).

Memorials of Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century South Carolina Land Titles.

- Vol. 14, 84. [1761]: Musgrove registers 150A on Tyger (for quit rent tax assessment purposes).
- Vol. 9, 114. [1766]: Musgrove registers 100A on Tyger.

Ninety-Six District, North Side of the Saluda River, Plat Books.

- Book B, 162. [1785]: 75A on south side of Enoree, bounded NE by river, SW & SE by Edward Garrett's land, and NE by William Barry.

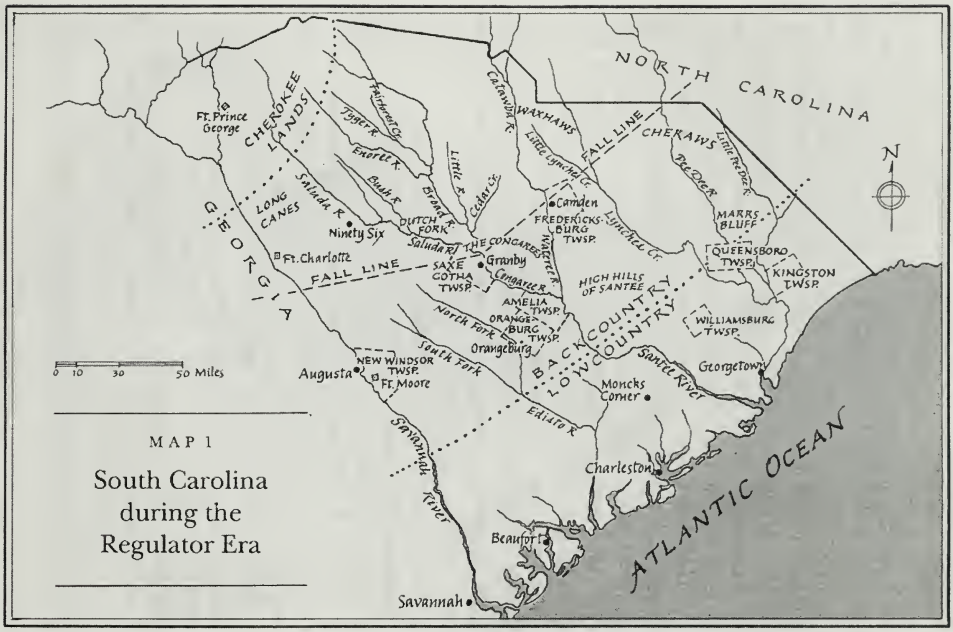


Figure 1: Map of Colonial South Carolina.

This map delineates the approximate boundary between the Low- and Backcountries. It also highlights the backcountry's principal rivers and towns, in addition to depicting the general location of the "fall line." Source: Rachel N. Klein, *The Unification of a Slave State* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), 12.

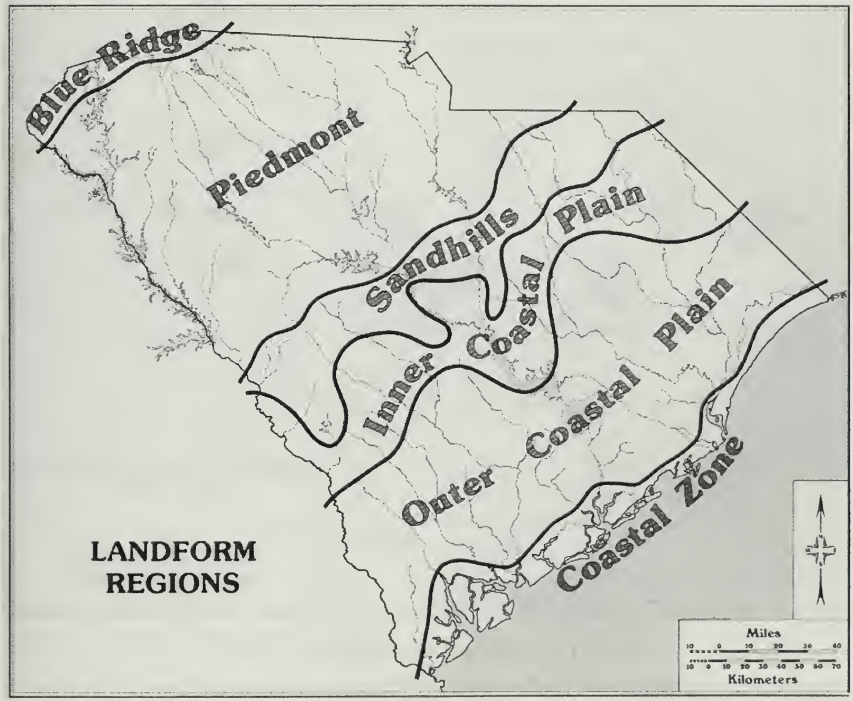


Figure 2: Landform Regions of South Carolina.

Source: Charles F. Kovacik and John J. Winberry, *South Carolina: The Making of a Landscape* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1989), 15.

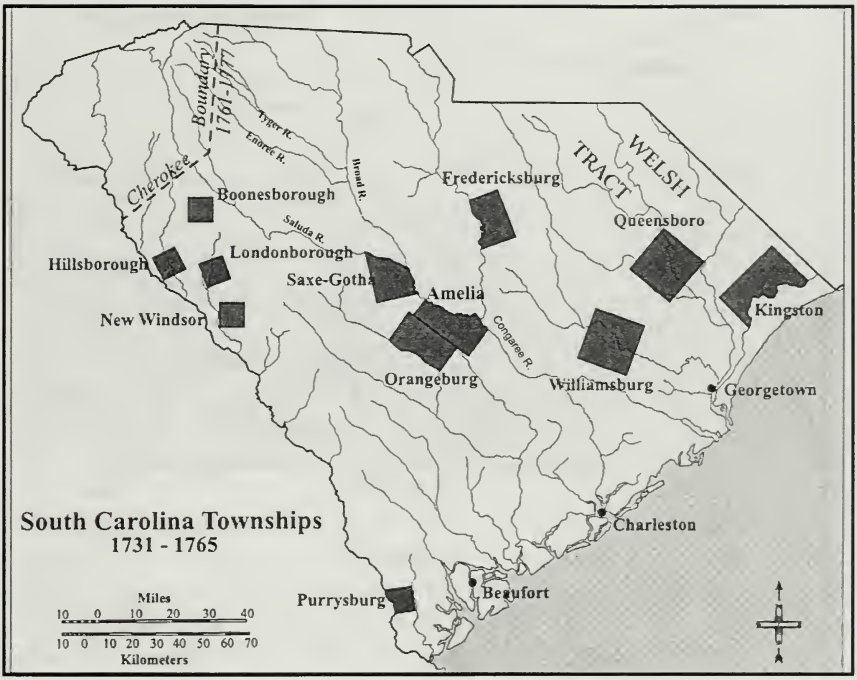


Figure 3: South Carolina Townships, 1731-1765.

Source: Walter Edgar, *South Carolina—A History* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1998), 53.

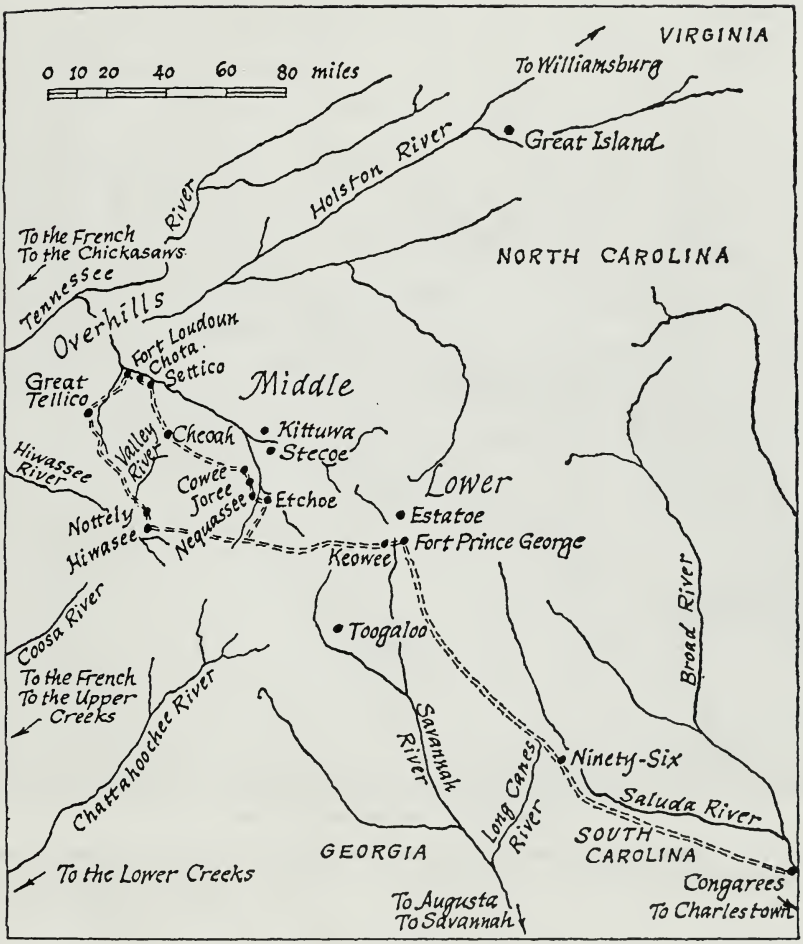
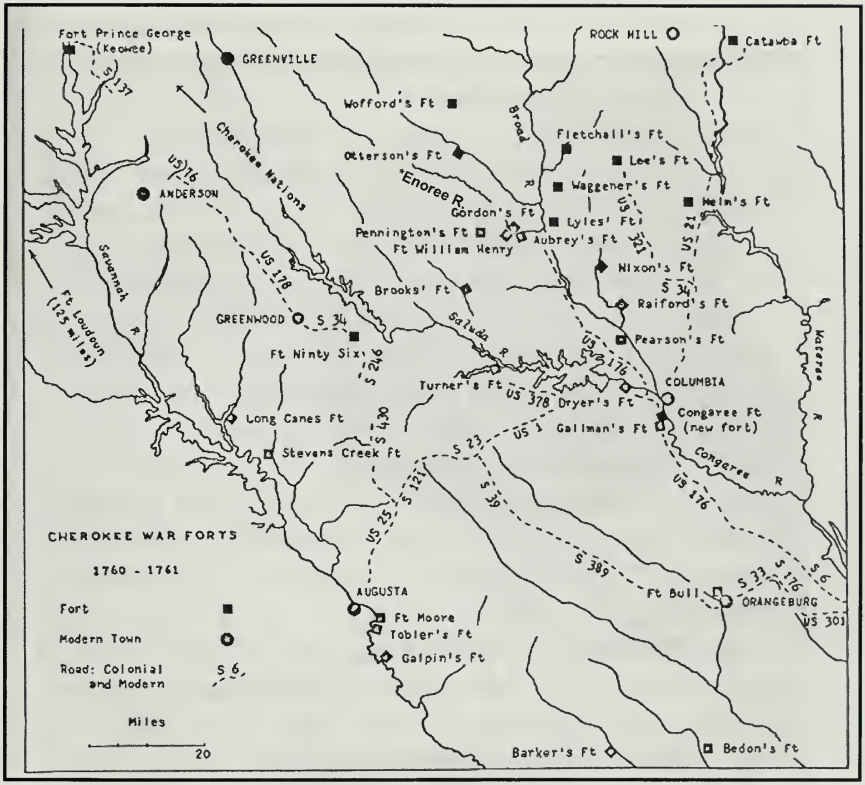


Figure 4: Cherokee Country at the Onset of the Cherokee War (1760-1761).

This map shows the locations of the principal Cherokee villages (divided into Lower, Middle, and Overhills towns) as well as the sites of Forts Prince George and Loudoun, two British strongholds built in Cherokee County in the 1750s. The line of parallel dashes represents the main trading path that connected colonial South Carolina to the Cherokee Nation. Source: David H. Corkran, *The Cherokee Frontier: Conflict and Survival, 1740-1762* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 7.



*Added by author.

Figure 5: Cherokee War Forts, 1760-1761.

Note the locations of Musgrove's (distinguished on the map as Ft. William Henry), Aubrey's and Gordon's Forts. Source: Larry E. Ivers, *Colonial Forts of South Carolina, 1670-1775* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1970), 19.

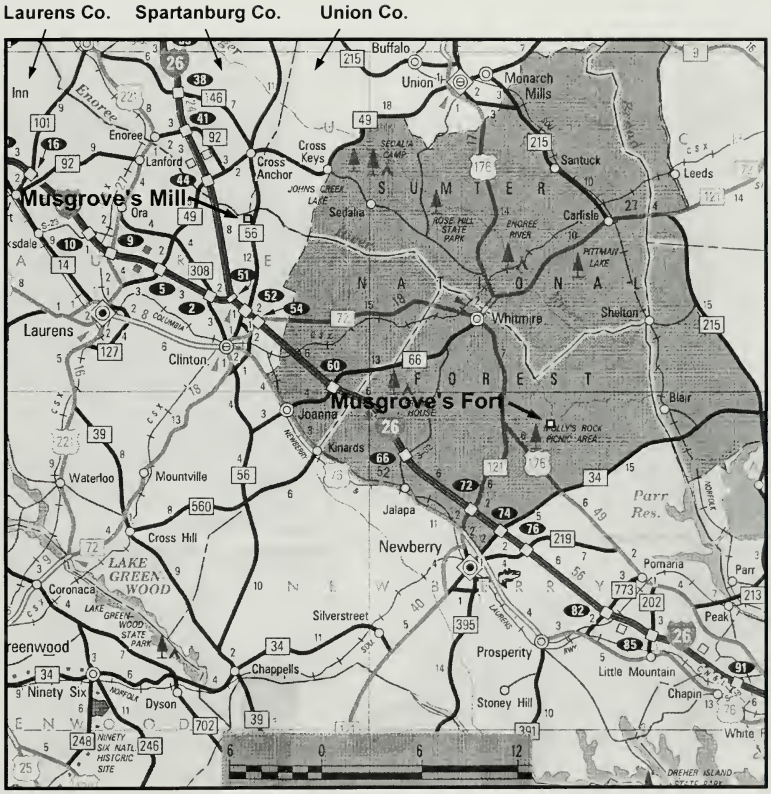


Figure 6: Detail of South Carolina State Highway Map (SCDOT, 2000), Showing the Locations of Musgrove's Cherokee War Fort and Musgrove's Mill.

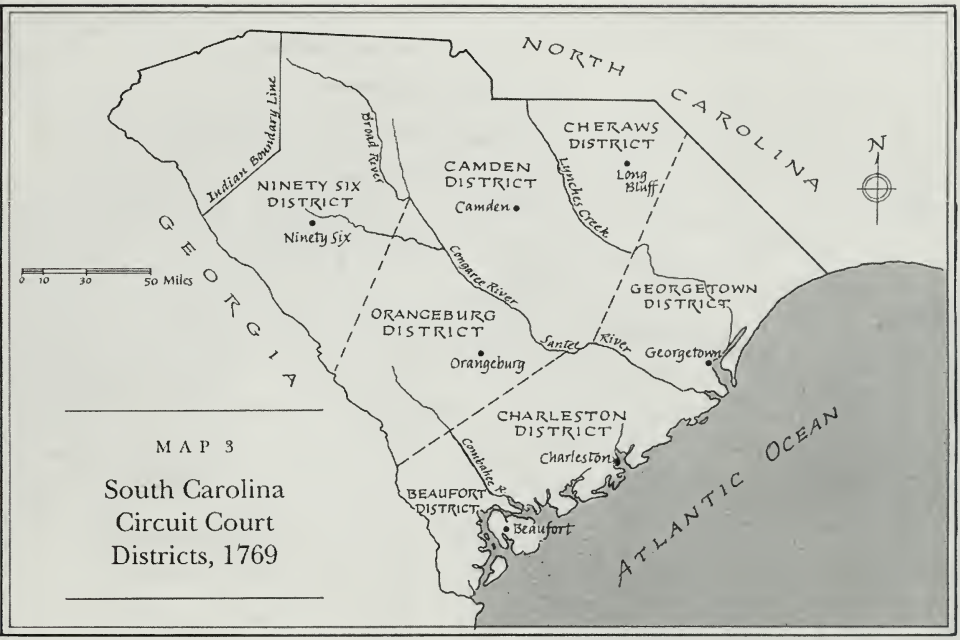


Figure 7: South Carolina Circuit Court Districts, 1769.

Source: Klein, *Unification of a Slave State*, 76.

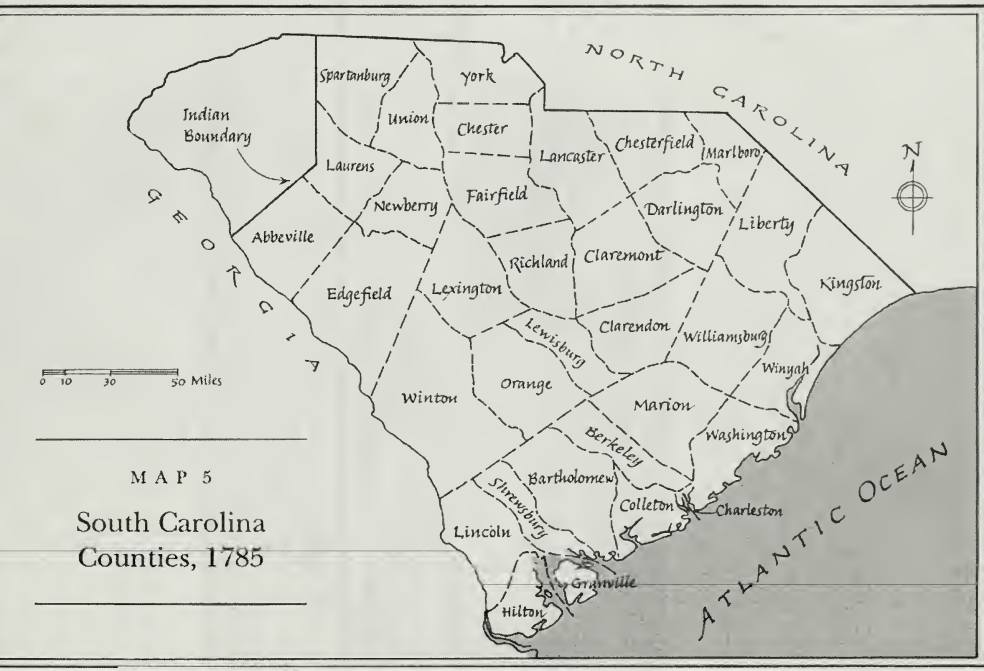


Figure 8: South Carolina Counties, 1785.

Source: Klein, *Unification of a Slave State*, 112.

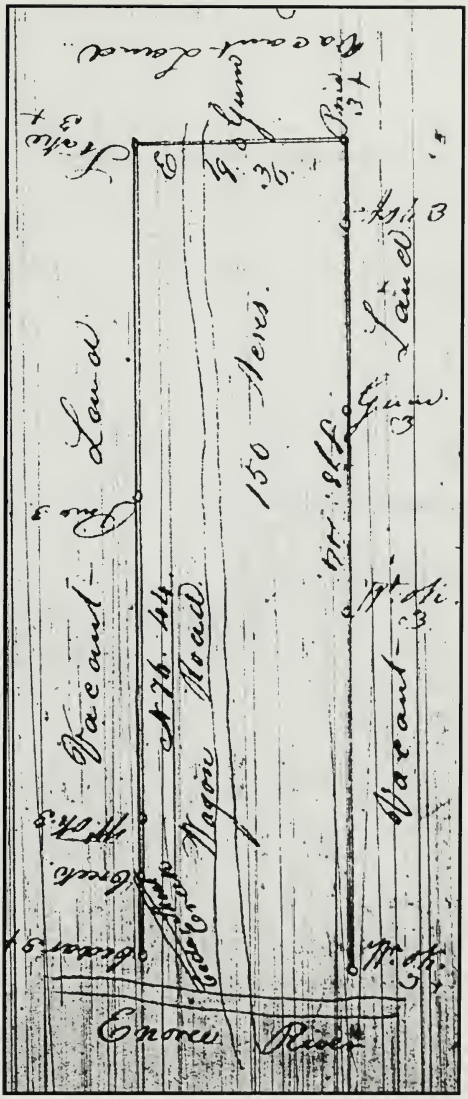


Figure 9: Samuel Chew's 1767 Plat for 150 Acres on the North Side of the Enoree River.

The Chew plat reveals that the "Wagon Road," heading southward, crossed the Enoree River to the east of Cedar Shoals Creek. The ford, therefore, had to be located east of the mouth of Cedar Shoals Creek. This plat also demonstrates that Highway 56 (constructed in the mid 1930s) roughly approximates the route of the wagon road on the north side of the Enoree River. Source: South Carolina Colonial Plats, vol. 9, 287.

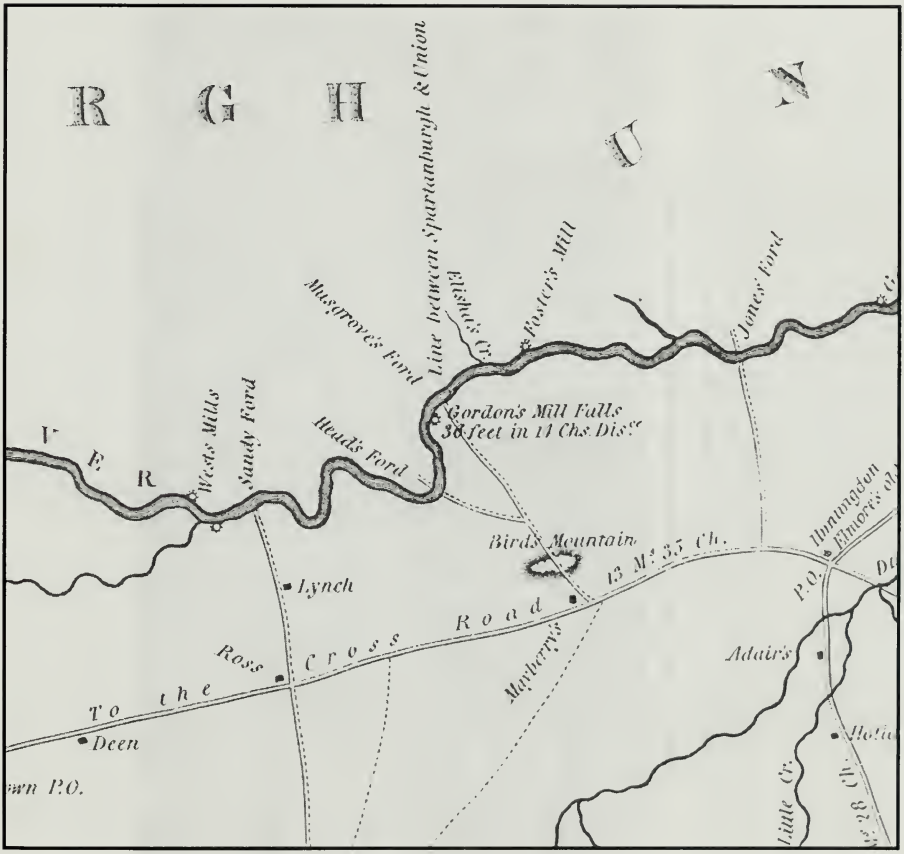


Figure 10: Detail of "Laurens District" Map, Included in Robert Mills'
An Atlas of the Districts of South Carolina in 1825.

George Gordon acquired the mill tract in 1796, roughly six years after Edward Musgrove's death. Thus Musgrove's Mill appears as Gordon's Mill on this 1825 map. The ford, however, retained Musgrove's name.

Figure 11: Circa 1959 Photograph of the Reputed "Musgrove House."

This structure, destroyed by fire in 1971, was a classic example of an extended I-house. Therefore, it is doubtful that this home was the original Musgrove dwelling. Note the asymmetrical façade, which is indicative of heavy alteration. Source of photo.: "Musgrove's Mill: The Saga of Shadrack Inman," in *Living in South Carolina* (September 1974), 28.

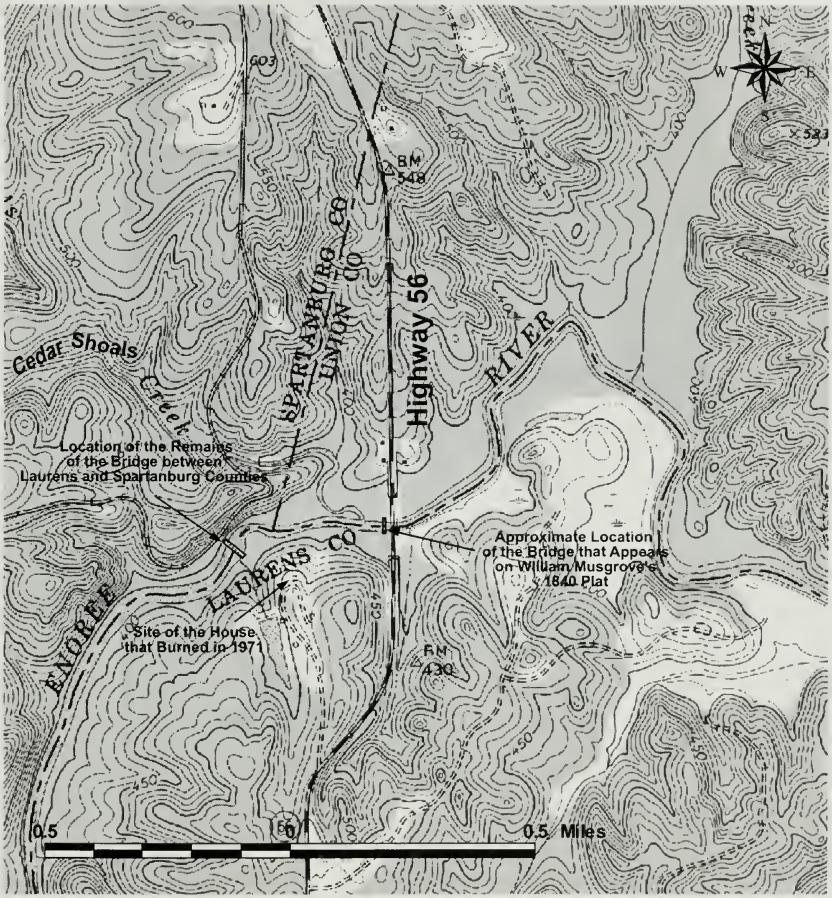


Figure 12: Detail of USGS Quadrangle, "Philson Crossroads" (Musgrove's Mill Vicinity).

This map shows the exact location of the house which burned on the property in 1971 (Fig. 11), as well as the approximate site of the bridge depicted on William Musgrove's 1840 plat (Fig. 13) and the remains of the bridge (most likely built in the latter half of the 19th century) represented on the 1883 Kyzer and Hellams map of Laurens County (Fig. 14).

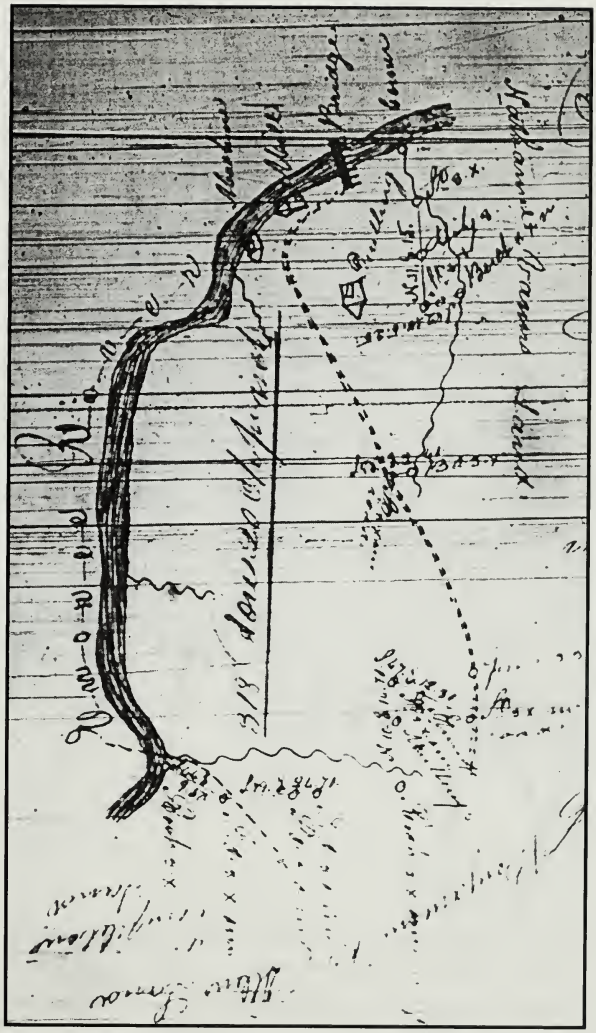


Figure 13: 1840 Plat for 318 Acres Laid Out for William Musgrove on the South Side of the Enoree River.

Following Edward Musgrove's death in 1790, his wife Ann remarried. Her new husband fell into financial trouble and the couple forfeited the Musgrove's Mill tract to George Gordon. Edward Musgrove's son, William, finally reacquired the property from Gordon's estate in 1840. Note the location of the mill and road, which ran north, passed the dwelling house on the west, and then turned eastward, paralleling the Enoree, before finally reaching a nineteenth-century bridge, presumably built over Musgrove's Ford. Source: South Carolina State Plats, Columbia Series, Volume 52, 410.

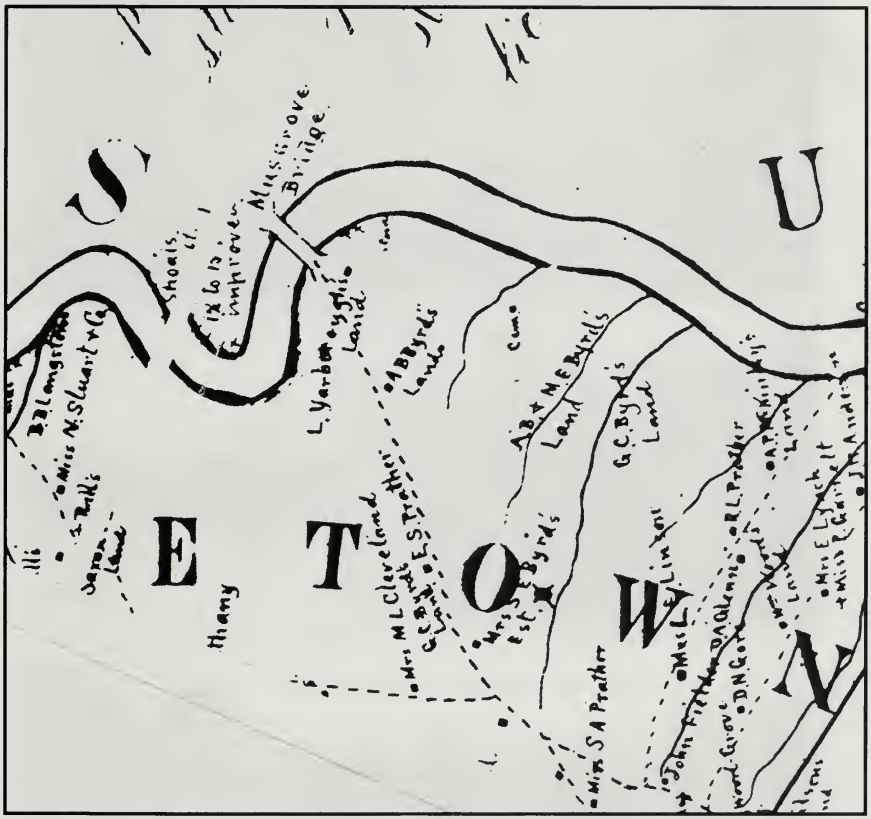
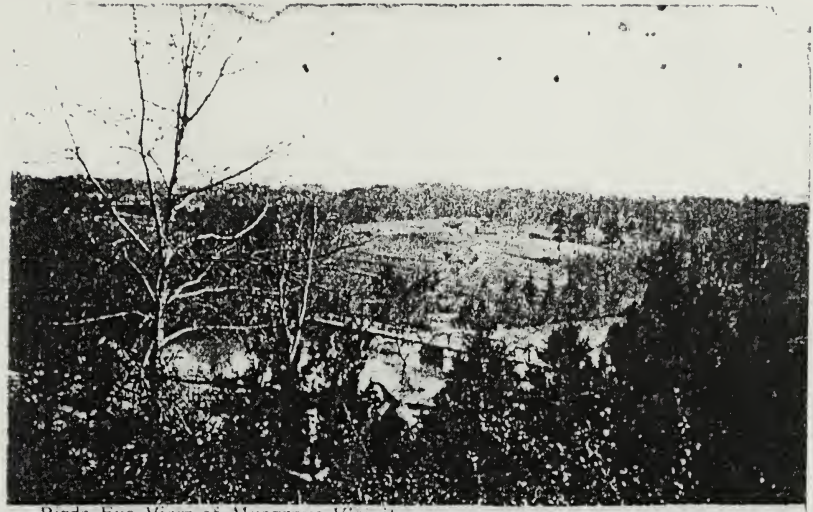


Figure 14: Detail of "A Map and Sketch of Laurens County, S.C." (Kyzer and Hellams, 1883).

This map is of interest because it depicts "Musgrove Bridge," a structure built over the Enoree River (linking Laurens and Spartanburg Counties) in the late nineteenth century. It was apparently abandoned after the state laid out Highway 56 in the early 1930s. The foundation footings of this bridge (or a later manifestation of it), however, are located within Musgrove's Mill State Historic Site.



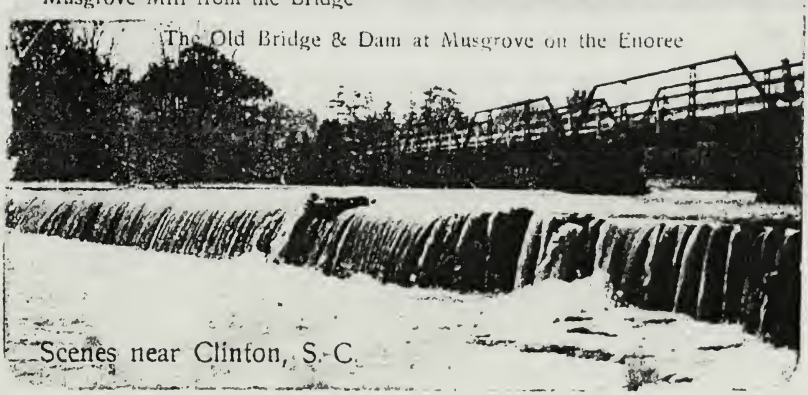


Figure 15: Circa 1909 Postcards of the Musgrove's Mill Vicinity.

The originals are in the possession of State Representative Donny Wilder of Clinton.

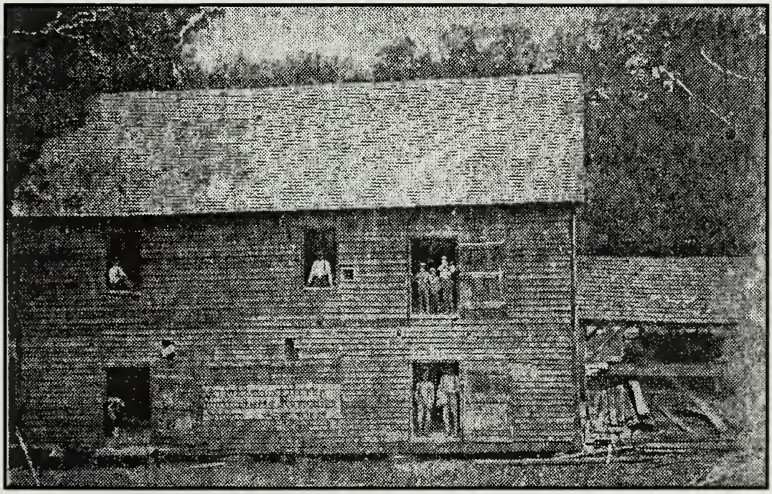


Figure 16: Circa 1897 Photograph of the Rebuilt Mill.

According to the newspaper article that this photograph accompanied, the mill "consisted of a grist for grinding corn and wheat and also a sawmill. The grist mill was located beneath the sawmill." "Cotton," the article goes on to say, "was also ginned at the mill." Source: "Burnett Family's Tenure: Memories of an Old Mill," in *The Spartanburg Journal*, 28 November 1966.

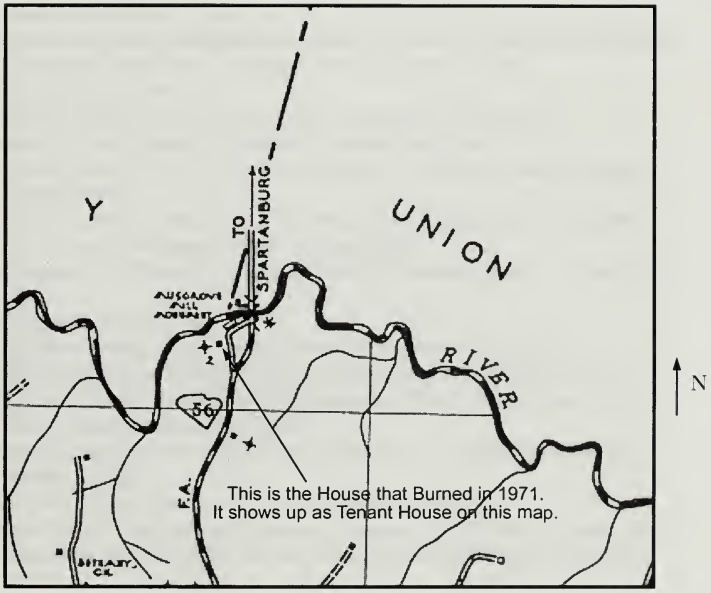


Figure 17: Detail of the SC State Highway Department's 1939 "General Highway and Transportation Map" for Laurens County.

Note the absence of the bridge that appears on the 1883 map of Laurens County (Fig. 14) .

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